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Middle-Indic *tuppa*, Tamil *tuppu*, and the region of origin of some Śvetāmbara Jaina texts

1. Middle-Indic *tuppa* is generally taken to mean "ghee". The meaning is beyond doubt in, for instance, *Setubandha* 15, 38 (for which, see below, § 5). Turner (*CDIAL* 5864) furthermore refers to Marāṭhī and Gujarātī *tūp* "ghee" and Marāṭhī *tupaṭ* "oily". He suggests a non-Aryan origin for the word. It should be noted, however, that according to Burrow and Emeneau (*DED* 2685) Kannāḍa *tuppa* "ghee" is not a native Dravidian word but a loanword from Indo-Aryan. One of the aims of the present study is to show that Burrow and Emeneau were right, that is to say, Kannāḍa *tuppa* "ghee" and its cognates like Tamil *tuppam*, are indeed Indo-Aryan loanwords. But Turner's suggestion need not be altogether discarded either, for Middle-Indic *tuppa* is indeed a loanword from the South Indian languages, though not as a word for "ghee" but as a word for a particular red substance. As I will try to show, "ghee" is a later meaning given to the word only after its original meaning had been lost sight of. This process of the "invention" of the meaning "ghee" can in fact be followed in the available texts themselves. The use of *tuppa* as a word for ghee or oil may be taken as an indication of the relatively late date of the text, or at least as an indication of the artificial nature of its language. On the other hand, the occurrence in some North Indian texts of South Indian *tuppa* as a word for a red colour would seem to point to specific regional origin of these texts in Gujarat.

2. First I would like to draw attention to the instances of *tuppa* in Hāla's *Sattasaī*. *Tuppa* is found in the compounds *tuppāṇaṇā* (289) and *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhī* (22, 520), which describe a woman who has applied some sort of ointment to her face to mark the fact that she is having her monthly period. While during that time any contact between husband and wife is taboo, for the man this taboo only enhances the woman's desirability.[1] The couple is very careful, though, that the husband does not get stained

1. See *gāthā* 480:
jai loaṇimdiaṃ jai amaṃgalaṃ jai vi mukkamajjāaṃ
pupphavaidaṃsaṇaṃ taha vi ḍei hiaassa ṇivvāṇaṃ,
Even if people find fault with it, even if it is inauspicious, even if it involves breaking the rules, seeing a woman in her period gives pleasure to the heart.

by the ointment, as this might expose their transgression or else betray his infatuation. In this situation it is hard to believe that the husband would be afraid of getting stained by plain ghee, which was commonly used as a cosmetic by both men and women. *Vaṇṇagghaa* in *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhī* indeed makes clear that a particular dye is involved as well. The occurrence of *tuppāṇaṇā* side by side with *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhī* would almost certainly rule out the analysis of *vaṇṇagghaatuppa* as a *dvandva*, i.e. "coloured ghee and *tuppa*". Rather, the meaning "colour" may be assumed to be present in the word *tuppa* itself, with *vaṇṇagghaa* "coloured ghee" specifying *tuppa* ("*tuppa*, that is, coloured ghee"[2]) or explaining how the face has come to acquire its *tuppa* appearance, namely by applying coloured ghee.

Gāthā 22 refers to the special attraction formed by the acrobatics involved in kissing the woman without getting stained by the ointment applied to her face:

> *āarapaṇāmioṭṭhaṃ aghaḍiaṇāsaṃ asaṃhaaṇiḍālaṃ*
> *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhīe tīe pariuṃvaṇaṃ bharimo,*[3]
> I still think of how I kissed her when her face [had a *tuppa*-colour through the application of coloured ghee / was (anointed) with *tuppa*, or (a kind of) coloured ghee]: our lips carefully pursed to keep our noses from touching and our foreheads from meeting.

In 520 a woman contrasts her husband's present lack of interest with his former infatuation, which made him defy social conventions:

> *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhiṃ jo maṃ aiāareṇa cuṃvaṃto*
> *eṇhiṃ so bhūsaṇabhūsiaṃ pi alasāai chivaṃto,*
> That same man who once (flaunted all rules and) when my face [had a *tuppa*-colour through the application of coloured ghee / was (anointed) with *tuppa*, or (a kind of) coloured ghee], kissed me carefully (in order not to get stained), now no longer cares to touch me even when I am decorated with ornaments.

See also *gāthā* 950, and 530:

> *loo jūrai jūrau vaaṇijjaṃ hoi hou taṃ ṇāma*
> *ehi ṇimajjasu pāse pupphavai ṇa ei me ṇiddā*
> If people get angry, let them. If it is blameworthy, so be it. Come, and lie down beside me, o menstruating woman, for either way I can't sleep;

Compare this *gāthā* with Hc IV 438:

> *soevā para vāriā pupphavaīhiṃ samāṇu*
> *jaggevā puṇu ko dharai jai so veu pamāṇu*
> It is forbidden to sleep with menstruating women but who would survive to stay awake, going by this excitement?

2. On compounds of this type, a regional word (*tuppa*) being explained by a regular Sanskrit synonym, see Tieken (1994: 235). See also below, § 7.

3. For the reading *vaṇṇagghaa*, see Tieken (1983: 221-22). *Tuppa* is found in, among other manuscripts, R, S and T; for the variant *litta* adopted by Weber, see § 5 below.

By merely offering the additional possibility of breaking a taboo the woman in 529 defeats all her competitors:

> *thoraṃsuehi ruṇṇaṃ savattivaggeṇa pupphavaiāe*
> *bhuasiharaṃ paiṇo pecchiūṇa siralaggatuppaliaṃ.*
> The co-wives shed big tears when they saw the husband's shoulder stained *tuppa* [stained with *tuppa*], (the shoulder) having touched the menstruating woman's face.

Tuppalia is a past participle formed on the basis of *tuppa* + the possessive/emphatic suffix *-la*, for which, see Pischel (1900: § 595).

The husband in 289 is a fool, asking the woman why she has anointed her face with *tuppa*. By moving her head she directs his attention to the sanitary napkin she is wearing:

> *tuppāṇanā kiṇo acchasi tti paripucchiāi vahuāi*
> *viuṇāveḍhiajahaṇatthalāi lajjoṇaaṃ hasiaṃ,*
> The wife, asked why she had her face (anointed) with *tuppa* [had a *tuppa*-face], smiled bashfully, standing there with an extra piece of cloth between her legs.

The above instances allow no conclusion as to whether *tuppa* in e.g. *tuppamuha* is an actual dyeing substance applied to the face (*tuppamuhī* being a compound like *payomukha* "with milk on the surface") or functions as an object of comparison (like *bimba* in *bimboṣṭha* "lips red like the *bimba*"). Another uncertainty concerns the colour involved. According to the commentaries on the *Sattasaī* passages it would be a kind of yellow, the ointment consisting of a mixture of oil and, among other dyes, turmeric: *haridrādivarṇapradhānaṃ ghṛtaṃ varṇaghṛtaṃ* (Gaṅgādhara) and *varṇapradhānaṃ ghṛtaṃ kuṃkumaharidrādisādhitaṃ* (anonymous π and ξ) (see *Sattasaī*, ad *gāthā* 22). However, while in the *Sattasaī* turmeric is indeed mentioned several times as a cosmetic or a bathing soap (see *gāthā*s 58, 80 and 246), its use was clearly not restricted specifically to the time of a woman's monthly period. Moreover, the colour of turmeric is proverbially ephemeral (see MW s.v. *haridrā-rāga*), which would not agree with the stains remaining visible until the next morning in *gāthā* 529 (see above). Apart from that, there is also no evidence that turmeric was applied with oil, which would be too precious to be washed away in the water, as is the case in *gāthā*s 58 and 246. For a more definite conclusion concerning the colour denoted by *tuppa* we may turn to the instances of the word in some Jaina narrative texts.

3. In *Vivāgasuya* 1, 2, 14 in a description of a condemned criminal led to the place of execution we find a past participle *tuppiya*. The same passage is found in 1, 3, 13 and in 1, 9, 6, in the latter instance *purisaṃ* "a man" having been substituted by *itthiyaṃ* "a woman". *Vivāgasuya* 1, 2, 14 (p. 734) reads:

tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ purisāṇaṃ majjhagayaṃ egaṃ purisaṃ (itthiyaṃ) pāsai avaoḍayabaṃdhaṇaṃ ukkhitta- (v.ll. *ukkhatta-, ukkatta-*)*kaṇṇanāsaṃ* nehatuppiyagattaṃ *vajjha-*(v.l. *baddha-*)*karakaḍijuyaniyacchaṃ* (v.l. *niyatth*[*ā*], *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16) *kaṃṭheguṇarattamalladāmaṃ cuṇṇaguṃḍiyagātaṃ cuṇṇayaṃ vajjhapāṇapīyaṃ tilaṃ-tilaṃ ceva chijjamāṇaṃ kāgaṇimaṃsāiṃ khāviyaṃtaṃ pāvaṃ khakkhara-*(v.ll. *kakkharaga-, kakkara-*)*saehiṃ hammamāṇaṃ aṇeganaranārī-saṃparivuḍaṃ caccare-caccare khaṃḍapaḍahaeṇaṃ ugghosijjamāṇaṃ ...*

"And amidst these people he saw a man (a woman) with his (her, also elsewhere) hands tied behind his back, his ears and nose cut off, *his body anointed with ghee*, dressed (read *niyattha* = **nivastra*) for the execution with two pieces of *karakaṭī*-cloth, wearing a garland of red flowers strung on a (the?) rope tied round his neck, his body covered with dust, *cuṇṇayaṃ*,[4] having drunk the last drink, being cut into small pieces, made to emaciate his flesh so that it had become as thin (and wrinkled) as a *kāgaṇi*,[5] a sinner, beaten by hundreds of *khakkhara*s (?), surrounded by many men and women, being led around the streets, his execution announced by *khaṃḍa* drums ..."

An embellished version of this passage is found in *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16 (p. 663):

*tattha ya kharapharusapaḍahaghaṭṭitakūḍaggahagāḍharuṭṭhanisaṭṭhaparāmaṭṭhā vajjhakarakuḍijuyaniyatthā surattakaṇavīragahiyavimukulakaṃṭheguṇavajjhadūta-āviddhamalladāmā maraṇabhayuppaṇṇaseyamāyataṇeh*uttupiya*kilinnagattā ...*

From the addition of *kilinna* (Skt *klinna*) "moistened" it appears that (*ut*)*tupiya*, i.e. (*ut*)*tuppiya* (see below) is interpreted as meaning "anointed, given a glossy appearance", in case by ghee (*ṇeha*). It is, however, far from obvious what purpose would have been served by anointing this person, about to be executed, with ghee or oil, which otherwise is part of the care of the body. In fact, I have already tried to show above that for *tuppa* as far as the instances in the *Sattasaī* are concerned a meaning "(plain) ghee" does not really make sense. Most likely it would be a word for an as yet unknown colour or a dye.

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4. In between *cuṇṇaguṃḍiyagātaṃ* and *vajjhapāṇapīyaṃ Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16 has *rayareṇubhariyakesā kusuṃbhagokhiṇṇa-muddhayā chiṇṇajīviyāsā ghuṇṇaṃtā*. The question arises if *cuṇṇayaṃ* is the result of haplography of *cuṇṇa* and *ghuṇṇaṃta*.

5. The expression *kāgaṇi* ... is also found in *Sūyagaḍa* (JĀS) 2, 2, 713: *kāgaṇimaṃsakhāvitayaṃ* and in *Sūyagaḍa-Nijjutti* 75: *kappanti kāgaṇīmaṃsagāṇi*. Otherwise *kāgaṇī* is found among the "jewels" of the *cakravartin*, after *maṇi* (e.g. *Ṭhāṇaṃga* (Ladnun) 7, 67), and refers to one of the 72 *kalās* (e.g. *Samavāya* (Ladnun) 72, 7). Some of these instances have been discussed by Upadhye (1978). In Pāli *kākaṇikā* denotes a small coin practically worth nothing; see °*agghanaka* "not even worth a farthing" (*PTSD*, p. 202). The instance under consideration seems to suggest that we have to do with a thin coin rather than a small one.

If so, the instances in *Vivāgasuya* and *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* would point in particular to the colour red (or to a red substance).

In this connection I may point to the practice to paint a convict's body red, referred to in the tenth act of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, in which Cārudatta is led away to the scaffold. In verse X 3 Cārudatta describes his body, "which is smeared with a red fragrant substance" (*me śarīram ... raktagandhānuliptaṃ*).[6] In verse X 5 he notes that painted red he has been turned into a sacrificial victim (*paśu*):

sarvagātreṣu vinyastai raktacandanahastakaiḥ
piṣṭacūrṇāvakīrṇaś ca puruṣo 'haṃ paśūkṛtaḥ,
By handmarks of red sandal placed all over my body and covered by powder prepared of grains I have changed from a man into a sacrificial victim.

It should be noted that Cārudatta, like the convict in *Vivāgasuya*, is decked out with a garland of red flowers: *aṃsena bibhrat karavīramālāṃ ... āghātam adyāham anuprayāmi* (verse X 21) "Today I am going towards my death wearing over my shoulder a garland of oleander". Compare *surattakaṇavīragahiyavimukulakaṃṭheguṇa* in the corresponding *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* passage. In addition Cārudatta is clad in a red piece of cloth. The same colour was also apparently used for wedding ceremonies. See in this connection *Mṛcchakaṭika*, verse X 44:

raktaṃ tad eva varavastram iyaṃ ca mālā
kāntāgamena hi varasya yathā vibhāti
ete ca vadhyapaṭahadhvanayas tathaiva
jātā vivāhapaṭahadhvanibhiḥ samānāḥ,
The blood-red shroud is like a bridegroom's robe,
This wreath a bridegroom's garland since we met:
And these dread sounds of doomed men's drums
Become the festive airs of marriage!
(Translation by van Buitenen 1971: 176).

For this double use of a red robe, see also *Nāgānanda*. Before Jīmūtavāhana climbs on the "execution stone" (*tāvat tvaritataram imāṃ vadhyaśilām ārohāmi*, p. 53) he puts on a red dress (*vāsoyugam idaṃ raktaṃ prāpte kāle samāgatam*, IV verse 69; see also on the same page (p. 52): *diṣṭyā siddham abhivāñchitam anena atarkitopanatena raktāṃśukayugalena*) which had been given to him for his wedding to Malayavatī.

Like the convict in *Vivāgasuya*, who is *cuṇṇaguṃḍiyagāta*, Cārudatta is covered with a kind of powder. Given the fact that the convict is otherwise completely covered in red

6. As to *gandha* in *raktagandhānulipta*, it may be doubted that Cārudatta was for the occasion of his execution anointed with some pleasantly smelling substance. The same applies to *candana* "sandal" in *raktacandanahastaka* in verse X 5 quoted below. Possibly *gandha* and *candana* merely refer to the appearance of the red stains, that is, smooth and translucent as in the case of unguents, rough and broken as patches of dried-up sandal respectively.

one may question the explanation given by Pṛthvīdhara, the commentator to *Mṛcchakaṭika*, according to whom *piṣṭacūrṇa* is made of black grains (*śyāmataṇḍulacūrṇaṃ*).

For *nehatuppiyagāta* in the *Vivāgasuya* passage I therefore venture to suggest a translation "whose body was painted red with *tuppa* (mixed in) oil / was (painted) a kind of *tuppa*-red with (coloured) oil".

4. Finally, I would like to draw attention to *tuppoṭṭhā* (plural) "who have *tuppa*-lips" or "who have lips like *tuppa*" found in *Aṇuogaddāra* 22. The colour, which must indeed be red, is actually not the problem here, but the fact that *tuppoṭṭhā* is found in a description of men, that is, of men painting their lips. The passage is curious anyhow.[7] It describes *yogīs* who have given up the qualities of *śramaṇas* (*samaṇaguṇamukkajogī*), have no compassion with the six "bodies" (*chakkāyaniraṇukaṃpā*), are unrestrained like horses (*hayā iva uddāmā*), behave like ungoaded elephants (*gayā iva niraṃkusā*), massage and anoint their bodies (*ghaṭṭā maṭṭhā*), have painted their lips red (*tuppoṭṭhā*), and roam around at will without heading the orders of the Jinas (*jiṇāṇaṃ aṇāṇāe sacchaṃdaṃ vihariūṇaṃ*). In addition, these ascetics who have abandoned the path of the true monks are said to be clad in white robes (*paṃḍarapaḍapāuraṇā*). This latter description refers clearly to the practice known from the Buddhists, when monks were expelled from the *saṃgha*, to take away their coloured monks' robes and give them white ones instead. The practice is referred to in the Kauśāmbī, Sārnāth and Sānchī edicts of Aśoka (*odātāni dussāni saṃnaṃdhāpayitu*), which have been discussed elaborately by Bechert (1961: 37). The point is that the description makes no sense in the case of the Śvetāmbara monks, who already wear white robes!

5. It would seem that *tuppa* originally denoted either a red substance or a kind of red colour, that is "*tuppa*-red" (cf. English moss-green). Subsequently, the meaning of this rare word caused considerable embarrassment. Dhanapāla, the compiler of *Pāiyalacchī*, and Hemacandra, the compiler of *Deśīnāmamālā*, provide a meaning "anointed"; see *Pāiyalacchī* 233: *makkhiyaṃ tuppaṃ*, and *Deśīnāmamālā* V 22: *siṇiddha*° ... *tuppo*. This interpretation, which seems to have been based on the instances in the *Sattasaī*, has in turn influenced the textual tradition of that text. See in this connection the variant readings *litta* in *Sattasaī* 22 in K, γ and P [note *luppa* in ψ and B], and *lippa* in *Sattasaī* 520 γ and ψ, from *tuppa* x *litta*. Apparently, however, both Dhanapāla and Hemacandra did not know or overlooked *Sattasaī* 529 (*tuppalia*) and *Vivāgasuya* (*tuppiya*).

7. For a complete translation of the passage, see Hanaki (1970: 9).

Much more obvious in this respect is the solution forwarded for *tuppiya* in *Vivāgasuya*, which was interpreted as meaning "anointed (with oil)". See in this connection *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16 (p. 663), in which *uttupiya* (that is, *uttuppiya*) is glossed by following *kilinna*: *ṇehuttupiyakilinnagattā*. In the end, *tuppa* has survived as a synonym for plain ghee as used in lamps.[8] A case in point is *tuppa* in *Setubandha* 15, 38:

> *soūṇa indaivahaṃ muai sarosaṃ dasāṇaṇo bāhajalaṃ*
> *abbhuttiadīvāṇaṃ ṇivaḍai tuppaṃ va takkhaṇaṃ sahuāsaṃ*,
> The moment the ten-faced demon was informed of Indrajit's death he shed tears mixed with anger: they fell like burning drops of ghee dripping down from lamps which were lighted.

The use of *tuppa* "ghee, oil" was not restricted to purely literary texts, but is also found in a later Jaina text. A case in point is *uttuiya* (< *uttuppiya*; see below) "fed with oil" in *Dasaveyāliya-Nijjutti* 212:

> *siṅgāra-ras'-uttuiyā moha-kuviya-phumphugā hasahasenti*,
> Fed with the oil of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and kindled (lit. angered) by delusion fires of straw burn excitedly.

In fact, for the origin of the form *uttuiya* we have to go back to *uttupiya* found in *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa* 3, 16, quoted above. The combination of *tup(p)piya* with the preverb *ut-* was probably created ad hoc in conformity with the tendency seen in this passage to elaborate and amplify. The factors involved in the loss or omission of one of the two *p*'s are not clear. Beside a scribal error we should reckon with the possibility of a deliberate "correction". The double *pp* might have been associated with the passive stem of the present and was as such reduced to single *p* in the past participle. *Uttuiya* is connected to *uttupiya* through an intermediate form **uttuvia*, with single intervocalic *p* substituted by *v*, which later, being optional, was deleted. It should be noted that the steps described here, *-p-* > *-v-* > *-Ø-*, which represent an historical development in Indo-Aryan, were also available as options to the scribes.

While *uttuiya* in *Dasaveyāliya-Nijjutti*[9] seems to have been borrowed directly from *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*, the description of the convict in the latter text seems to have been borrowed from *Vivāgasuya*, of which it is an elaboration. Furthermore, while in *Vivāgasuya tuppiya* was still used in its original meaning, this meaning was no longer known to the author of the embellished version found in *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*, as shown by the "explanation" *kilinna*. The fate of *tuppiya* in these three texts allows us to reconstruct a

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8. I have not been able to check the instances of *tuppa* ghee in Apabhraṃśa, in Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*, for which, see Shriyan (1969: 256, n° 1066).

9. *Tuppa* is also found in *Oha-Nijjutti-Bhāṣya* 307: *tattha vi miu-tuppayaraṃ jattha va jaṃ a-cciyaṃ dosu* (commentary: *snigdhatara*). In the word index s.v. *tuppa* Bollée refers to *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* 2922: *rukkha-silā-tuppa-maddaṇāīsu*, cty: *tuppa tti mṛtaka-kaḍevara-vaśā-ghṛtādibhiḥ pariṇāmitam*.

relative chronology, if not of the texts then at least of the passages, in the sense that *Dasaveyāliya-Nijjutti* is later than *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*, and the latter must be later than *Vivāgasuya*.

6. If my findings concerning the meaning of *tuppa* are correct, the suggestions made so far for the etymology of the word, which all started from the meaning "ghee, oil", are no longer relevant. The derivation from *tṛpra*, suggested by Turner (*CDIAL* 5864), has lost its basis. Like Gujarātī *tūp* and Marāṭhī *tupaṭ*, Tamil and Kannāḍa *tuppa(m)* "ghee" must be later literary borrowings.

However, starting from a red substance or a red colour (*tuppa*-red), another Dravidian word comes into consideration, namely Tamil *tuppu* and its cognates. Tamil *tuppu* is amply attested in Old Tamil literature.

In *Akanāṉūṟu* 9, lines 8-10 it is taken to mean "coral":[10]

> *tuppiṉ aṉṉa ceṅkōṭṭiyavi*
> *ṉeyttōr mīmicai niṇattiṟ parikku*
> *mattam naṇṇiya vaṅkaṭiccīrūr*,
> The little village on the jungle road, lying on an elevation (of earth red) like coral, resembles a dead body lying in (its own) blood.

Another instance is found in *Kalittokai* 33, lines 3-4:

> *maṇipurai vayaṅkaluḷ tuppeṟintavai pōlap*
> *piṇiviṭu murukkitaḷ aṇikayattutirntuka*,
> While the (red) petals of the *murukku* (Sk. *palāśa*), loosened from the buds, fall on the beautiful tank, looking like corals strewn on a pearl-like mirror ...

Clearly related to this meaning are the many instances in Old Tamil poetry of *tuppu* "enmity, hatred, fighting spirit". Evidently, these qualities were associated with the colour red. An interesting example is *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 380, lines 10-11, in which *tuppu* is found side by side with *cēymai* "redness, hatred":

> *tuppetirntōrkkē yuḷḷāc cēymaiyaṉ*
> *naṭpetirntōrkkē yaṅkai naṇmaiyaṉ*,
> Those who approach him with feelings of hatred (*tuppu*) he treats with hatred (*cēymaiyaṉ*), those who approach him with feelings of affection, he treats with affection.

Another instance is *Kalittokai* 104, lines 24-25, in which the anger of the red bull (*cēey*) is compared to "hot *tuppu*" (*ventuppiṟ*):

> *vēyuṟaḷ meṉtōḷ tuyilpeṟum ventuppiṟ*

10. I have been unable to check the quotation given in *TL* (p. 1970) from *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* 550, namely *tuppuṟaḷ toṇṭai cevvāy* "with a red mouth with lips resembling coral", which resembles *tuppoṭṭha* in *Aṇuogaddāra* 22.

cēey cinaṉañcāṉ cārpavaṉ ...
He who overcomes his fear for the red bull of hot hatred will lie against the girl's soft shoulders which resemble bamboo ...

In *Puṟaṉāṉūṟu* 30, lines 8-9 the king's *tuppu* "fighting spirit" is compared to the stones hidden in the elephant's cheeks. The stones referred to are pearls, which as pointed out by Hart for Tamil (1975: 250-251) are said to come from the elephant's tusks (here: the cheeks, that is the roots of the tusks). Apparently, however, the poet mixed up pearls with coral here, the link being that both coral and pearls are "mined" from the sea. *Puṟaṉāṉūṟu* 30, lines 8-9 read:

kaḷiṟukavuḷaṭutta veṟikaṟ pōla
oḷitta tuppiṉai yātaliṉ ...
Because you possess a shining fighting spirit which resembled the dazzling (?*veṟi*) stones (*kal*) hidden in the elephant's cheeks ...

In *Paripāṭal* 21, lines 4-5, however, *tuppu* seems to refer to a particular red dye mixed in the fluid for tanning the leather for a pair of sandals for the god Murukaṉ:

tuppamai tuvarnīrt tuṟaimaṟai yaḻuttiya
verinat tōl ...
The hide from the back, which was soaked in an astringent substance (*tuvar*) prepared with *tuppu* ...

Gros translates instead: "laissées baigner dans un bassin d'eau astringente [*tuvar*] comparable [*amai* ?] au corail rouge [*tuppu*]". However, *amai-tal* does not mean "to resemble" but "to be joined, to abide, to remain", which accounts for my translation "prepared with". *Tuvar* is a tanning substance prepared from the bark of the *cassia auriculata* (Linn.), which is locally known as the tarwar or tarota-tree[11] (< *tuvar*). It is also used as an astringent in medicine; see MW s.v. *tubara* with references to *Śuśrutasaṃhitā*. This particular substance is used for tanning heavy hides where colour is not of much importance. It gives the leather a yellowish brown colour.[12] The reason for adding *tuppu*, which would result in a red or reddish leather, may be found in the well-known association of Murukaṉ with the colour red. In this connection it suffices to refer to his epithet *Cēyōṉ* "the Red One" (see Clothey 1978: 28).

The combination *tuppu-tuvar* is found once more, namely in *Patiṟṟuppattu* 32, line 5:

tupput tuvarpōkap peruṅkiḷai yuvappa.

Here, however, *tuvar* seems to mean "red colour", for which the *TL* (*s.v.* p. 1992-93) quotes *tuvaritalc cevvāy* "red mouth with *tuvar*-red lips", *tuvartta cevvāy* "mouth painted

11. See Dastur (1962: 50, n° 70 and 1964: 54-55, n° 93).

12. See Dastur (1964: 54-55, n° 93).

red" and *tuvarāṭai* "salmon-coloured cloth".[13] In this connection it should be noted that the tanning material *tuvar* is also used to modify colours. The line from *Patiṟṟuppattu* may accordingly be translated as:

The redness (*tuvar*) of anger (*tuppu*) having worn off, the large family rejoiced.

Theoretically the compound *tupput tuvar* could also be translated as "the astringent quality of *tuppu*". It should be noted, however, that *tuppu* was basically used to denote a particular kind of red, *tuppu*-red. While as such the word may originally have denoted a particular red thing or substance (like moss in moss-green), it no longer seems possible to identify this original thing or substance, let alone determine if it was astringent. In Old Tamil *tuppu* was used to refer not only to coral but also to a red dyeing substance and to rust (see *tuppēṟutal* "to become rusty" in *TL* (Suppl.), p. 318. The meaning "rust" is also attested in Telugu; see below). In this connection it should also be noted that if *tuppa* in the *Sattasaī* was indeed a concrete substance it is unlikely that it was applied for its astringent qualities. For, if the function of an astringent is to dry the skin,[14] this effect would have been annulled by the ghee or oil with which it was mixed. The practice referred to in the *Sattasaī* seems to have been a custom and not to have had any a practical or medical purpose. It is thus different from the practice of women to apply *haldī* to the skin, which has an astringent quality (*kaḍuaṃ* in *Sattasaī* 246), serving, amongst other things, as a disinfectant.[15]

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13. A strange passage is found in *Setubandha* 8, 55, in which the water of the ocean is turned into fragrant red wine. The red colour is said to be due to minerals from the mountain which is used as a churning stick. *Tuvara* is said to be responsible for the fragrance. It comes from pieces (of bark) of the *tuvara*-tree which fell into the water:

jāaṃ mahiharamahiaṃ dhāuaḍakkhalaṇasarasapallavarāaṃ
*dumabhaṅga*tuvara*surahiṃ uppajjantamairaṃ va sāarasalilaṃ*,
The water of the ocean which, churned by the mountain, had taken on the red colour of juicy twigs from the sides of the mountain rich with minerals and had taken on the fragrance of *tuvara* from the pieces broken off the trees, looked like the wine which arose (at the mythical churning).

Note Hemacandra, who in his own commentary on *Deśīnāmamālā* 5, 16 mentions a particular juice called *tuvara*: *atra tuvaro rasaviśeṣa iti saṃskṛtasamatvān noktaḥ.*

14. Compare the meanings of *tuvar* "astringent" in *tuvartal* and *tuvarttutal* "to dry, wipe of moisture", *tuvarttumuṇṭu* "towel, as removing moisture" and *tuvarppū* "withered flower".

15. In *Sattasaī* 949 the two practices, painting the face red during menstruation and applying turmeric to the skin, seem to have become mixed up, that is, if the paleness of the cheeks is indeed due to the effect of turmeric:

maliṇavasaṇāṇa kiavaṇiāṇaṃ āpaṃḍugaṃḍapālīṇaṃ
pupphavaiāṇa kāmo aṃgesu kaāuho vasai,
Kāma resides bow in hand in the bodies of menstruating women, whose dresses are soiled, who ..., and whose cheeks are pale.

It should be noted that this *gāthā* is found only in the South Indian recensions (as 647 in Weber's First Telinga-recension and as 680 in my Third South Indian recension; see Tieken 1983) and may well be a later addition to the text. Apart from that, the present text is unmetrical. The metre may be restored by adopting the reading *kaaveṇiāṇa* found in the manuscripts Ti and Tp (for which, see Tieken 1983) and in Bhoja's

Yet another possibility is to interpret *tuvar* as meaning "hostility" and to translate the phrase in question as "the hostility which is *tuppu*-red". However, the meaning "hostility" (Tamil *pakai*) is attested only in *Akarāti Nikaṇṭu*, a lexicon (see *TL*, p. 1992), and may well be the result of an attempt to account for *tuvar* in the passage under consideration.

7. Besides Tamil (*DED* 2686), *tuppu* is found in Telugu (*DED* 2747, *t(r)uppu* "rust") and in Tuḷu (*DED* 2931, *tōpu* "red"). This distribution suggests that we have to do with a native South Indian, or Dravidian, word. Its occurrence in the *Sattasaī* may be explained with reference to the close connections the Sātavāhanas entertained with South India (see Dirks 1976: 128-29). It should be noted that *tuppa*, as a loanword from the South Indian languages, is not unique in the *Sattasaī*. Another instance is *sippī* in *saṃkhasippī* (*Sattasaī* 4). The latter compound consists of a Dravidian word, *sippī* (*DED* 2089), which is glossed by the regular Sanskrit word, *saṃkha*: "a *sippī*, that is a 'conch'" (see Tieken 1994: 235). As already pointed out above, *vaṇṇagghaatuppamuhī* may be analysed similarly: "with a face with *tuppa*, that is, with coloured ghee".

Apparently, *tuppa* (the substance and/or the word) travelled northwards via the western part of the Deccan. In this situation it is tempting to conclude that *Vivāgasuya* as we now have it, that is with the passages discussed above, hails from Gujarat, an area which was in close contact with Maharashtra.[16] At the same time the present text of *Vivāgasuya*, and with it that of *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*, which copied and embellished the *Vivāgasuya* passage, and misunderstood *tuppa* in the process, would be only slightly older than the *Sattasaī*, if not later. In this connection it should be noted that these conclusions regarding place of origin and date by themselves need not cause a surprise as the Jaina tradition itself sets the redaction of the presently available canon approximately one thousand years after Mahāvīra's death in Valabhī in Kathiawar (Gujarat). Rather, the real issue seems to be whether *Vivāgasuya* is a late, western redaction of an earlier, eastern text or is as a whole a late text written in Gujarat. The present study of the word *tuppa* does not by itself carry enough weight to answer this question. On the other hand, I venture to doubt that the occurrence of so-called archaic Ardha Māgadhī, that is, eastern, features in *Vivāgasuya* can be construed as an argument against the latter

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Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Vol. II, p. 489 [123]). *Veṇika* seems to refer here to a twisted piece of cloth used as a sanitary napkin; cp. MW s.v. *veṇika* "a twisted stripe or band" with reference to *Śuśrutasaṃhitā*, cp. also the expression *viuṇāveḍhiajahaṇatthala* in *Sattasaī* 289 and 504, and *viuṇāveḍho ṇiaṃbassa* in 504 (v.ll.).

16. Another "Dravidian" word showing the same geographical distribution is *tuvar(a)*, which is found in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kannāḍa, Telugu and Kui (*DED* 2755, 2756), and in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Kumaunī (*CDIAL* 5890). The spread of *tuppa* "ghee" (Tamil, Kannāḍa, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī), which matches that of *tuppa* "red colour", is of course a different matter, having to do with the histories of the respective literary languages.

possibility, given the persistent cultivation of archaisms within the Jaina tradition seen in other demonstrably late texts.

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Vivāgasuya

see *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*.

RÉSUMÉ

Le présent article tente de montrer que le mot moyen-indien *tuppa* s'est vu attribuer le sens de « beurre clarifié » (*ghī*) seulement bien après que le véritable sens du mot fut tombé dans l'oubli. L'emploi de *tuppa* avec ce sens dans le *Setubandha* et la *Dasaveyāliyanijjutti*, par exemple, prouve le caractère artificiel du vocabulaire de ces textes. À l'origine, le mot désignait en fait une teinture de couleur rouge ou, à défaut, une couleur rouge particulière. La répartition des mots apparentés dans les langues du Sud de l'Inde tendrait à montrer qu'on a affaire à un mot dravidien local. L'examen des occurrences de *tuppa* dans la *Sattasaī* de Hāla suggère que le mot a voyagé en direction du nord en empruntant la côte occidentale. Cela indique que les versions actuelles des textes jaina où ce mot apparaît (*Vivāgasūya* et *Paṇhāvāgaraṇa*) proviennent de l'Inde occidentale. Cette étude confirmerait donc la tradition jaina qui place la rédaction de son Canon au Gujerat, environ mille ans après la mort de Mahāvīra.